5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

making salt were described to me, the housewife depends mainly on trade salt. Meals never consist of more than one course. Plates, forks and spoons are owned by all households but people do not always use them. While boiling is the most common way of preparing food, bananas, yams and breadfruit are usually roasted. Meat is often preserved by daily smoking, sometimes for long periods. There is a rule against eating meat 'in lent' and this is kept very strictly, but probably for traditional religious reasons to be discussed later. The main drink with meals is a soup consisting of the water in which the vegetables and herbs were cooked.

Foraging. A good deal of plant and animal food is obtained from foraging, especially in the tropical rain forest which covers most of the Northern District. Among foraged animal foods I would mention especially grubs, frogs, snails, rats, bush eggs and lice. Foraged plant foods are especially valued during the dry season when roots, leaves and fern fronds may make up part of a meal. Savoury herbs and leaves, however, are collected at all times of the year. Some food plants, though growing in the forest, are owned by individuals so that the gathering of these plants may be better described as harvesting than collecting. The most important are the *tauga* and *puga* nut, sago, breadfruit, wild fig, and fruiting pandanus.[4]

Hunting. According to Waddell and Krinks, about two man-hours weekly are spent on hunting (3.7 hours by men and 0.3 hours by women). Hunting patterns on the Mount Lamington foothills differ widely from those on the alluvial plains where kunai grass is widespread. On the foothills, there is hunting in reverted gardens and in very limited areas of virgin bush. The usual quarry consists of small marsupials and birds. If a pig is encountered, it is invariably a village pig whose owner has a claim to the carcase. The game population was virtually exterminated after the introduction of guns in the 1950s. In the kunai country, on the other hand, hunting land is abundant. The technique is by firing the kunai so that the animals can be shot when they escape. Such a hunt requires a large number of men who ring the burnt-over area. Not only marsupials but also pigs are killed, either by gunfire or by being roasted alive in the kunai grass. By no means all animals killed in the fire are retrieved. Fires tend to get out of hand and to spread over surrounding bush land which then is often covered with kunai grass and so is useless for purposes of cultivation.

Fishing. The supply of fish has suffered greatly with the introduction of snorkels after the Second World War, as this equipment enabled the Orokaiva to fish out their rivers almost completely in a very short time. Fish is still an important resource, however, in the lower reaches of the huge rivers which run through the Northern District: Kumusi, Ambogo, Girua, Sambogo, etc. In Inonda, the village studied by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Waddell and Krinks (1968), 3.8 man hours per week are spent on fishing, mostly with spears, and the product is used not only for consumption but also for trade. (Inonda people also trade meat and bush eggs.) Many of the villages near the mountain, such as Sivepe, have very little fish. Apart from a few eels and crabs, the rivers contained a small supply of two-inch-long fishes caught in April with a small hand-net used as a scoop. (See Williams 1930:53 for description.)

Animal Husbandry. There are three kinds of domestic livestock: pigs, dogs and fowls. Every man still has one or more small dog which he uses for hunting

511 177 trade stores and wartime dumps. Most of the tools used regularly were purchased, but those in less constant use, such as picks, rakes, hammers and saws were mostly salvaged. The 'swimming glass' (goggles for fishing) is the only common piece of equipment not used in Sivepe.

[354] Inonda differs from Sivepe in household goods in that hurricane lamps are in common use, partly perhaps because kerosene is available at the trade store. More people own torches, which are often used when hunting by night. Mosquito nets also are far more common in Inonda (although many are in poor condition) and this in part is [415] due to a higher incidence of mosquitoes. Four households possess 44-gallon drums to collect rainwater.

511 [294] Several women make their own dresses and skirts and one has a flat-iron (which was not used during the survey). Laplaps are much less common in Inonda than in Sivepe.

The different environments of the two villages are illustrated by various items in Table 4:14.

Table 4:14

Inonda: household property derived from the subsistence sector

Household no.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Item									
Sago-beater	4	1	-	3	-	1	1	-	2
Fishing net	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Spear	3	7	-	3	2	4	3	2	2
Sleeping mat	7	3	2	2	-	2	1	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	-	20	1	-	2	-	-	5
Comb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lime pot	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
String bag	5	2	4	1	2	4	2	6	6
Drum	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Di and hambo	-*	28**	-	-**	7	-***	5	-***	-†
Clay pot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

* Kept by relative in another village; quantity unknown.
** Given to household 17 by household 19 who retains right of use.
*** Some given away in exchanges, others stolen.
† Unknown quantity kept by daughter in another village.

In Sivepe there are no hunting or fishing spears or fishing nets, nor are there any sago-beaters whereas most Inonda men possess both spears and sago-beaters. The greater number of tapa cloths in Sivepe is probably related to its greater distance from Popondetta, and so to the general level of acculturation. This likewise accounts for

212
245

[516]

Yega Scheme cocoa blocks looking N.W., January 1963.

Yega workers resting under shade trees. Cocoa trees 18 months old, February 1962.

[291]

[291]
[439]
[415]

Harvesting cocoa pods, July 1964.

Selling wet cocoa beans to fermentary representative, July 1964.

312 sea breezes, during the dry season (May to August) drive fires across the grasslands against the forest wall.

HOUSING AND VILLAGE LIFE

342 The Yega make three types of buildings each with a separate function; the vernacular names for these buildings are *mando, dobo* and *gega*. The *mando* is the building where a man and his family normally live. It is a well-built structure about sixteen to twenty feet by twelve to sixteen feet, set on hardwood piles, with the floor about four feet above the ground. The framework is of untrimmed bush poles about four to six inches in diameter, nailed together (the fifty or sixty cents for nails is the only cash expense in building the house). The floor is of split lengths of limbom palm, laid with the convex trunk side uppermost so that there are no splinters. Walls are made of lengths of the two inch thick midrib of sago palm fronds lashed vertically. The lashing usually leaves a space of quarter to half an inch between each pair of strips allowing any cooling breeze to blow through at all times. The roof is thatched with sago-leaf 'tiles'. The house is divided internally into two or three rooms, with a verandah in front. The entrance ladder is frequently the worst constructed part of the house. It is often rickety and dangerous, but even small children and dogs seem to negotiate it without falling. Cooking is usually done in front of the house or, in wet weather, underneath it. Some houses have a mud hearth three feet square and four inches thick, or the top of a forty-four gallon drum covered with two inches of sand, in one of the rooms to serve cooking and heating purposes. Food is cooked in a pot balanced over the fire on three stones or, nowadays, on three empty meat tins. Furniture is simple. There are no tables, chairs, or bedsteads. Sleeping mats are of woven pandanus leaf. There is often a light blanket or two, baskets and bags hang from the ceiling and in every house is a box or suitcase containing the wife's shell jewellery and the husband's ceremonial dancing finery, woven bracelets, feather head dresses, and shell and dog-teeth masks. Another box or suitcase contains the couple's

(824) (824) (417) 252 354 352 353 415

[P.10-B]

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occa-
[415] sions; often nowadays mother's best dress and father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between the floor joists under the floor platform. A [302] bundle of dry firewood may be stored under the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet [227] weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader is easily recognized by the large seine net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a corner of the verandah.

342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling, a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed with leaf walls, frequently open at one end and often so low from floor to roof that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo* is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden in current use, and used by a man and his family for up to a week at a time while they are working in their gardens, which may be three or four miles from the village. The *dobo* is also used to shelter from rain or to take a siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where
[461] men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a
614 smoke during siesta time, or after the day's
[627] work is done. There is usually at least one
[584] *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* performs an important social function for it is here that quarrels are settled, marriages arranged, and the everyday problems and business of the village discussed and finalised.

291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men, and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.
[287] The traditional body covering for both men and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the
[171] paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions, such as weddings and New Year singsings, while many older people wear *tapa* to
323 church on Sundays. The Yega and their neigh-
[289] bours are expert tapa-makers but they did not have either the suitable clay or the art of pot-
439 making. They used to trade their *tapa* for pots
[178] from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This trade has now declined because everybody can

[P-11-A]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-8]

buy cheap cloth and durable iron or aluminium pots at the trade stores. Although every housewife now has two or three large manufactured pots, she keeps them for cooking the food for feasts. Most of the daily meals are still prepared in clay pots but few of these pots were obtained by the old barter methods; most were obtained as gifts from friends or relatives. At one wedding, for example, the bride received fourteen clay cooking pots, in addition to a large supply of mats, string bags, enamel plates, and dishes: enough to last for years to come.

ECONOMIC CHANGE AND THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

A very close relationship exists between economic change, particularly the planting of cash crops, and changes in the pattern of settlement. Although most development has occurred in the last twenty years, there is evidence, supported by the oral traditions of Yega elders, to show that some evolution of settlement had occurred even before the first contact with white men. By tradition the Yega were sea people. This probably means that they arrived as migrants and originally spent most of their time aboard their canoes and lived mainly upon seafood. They settled first on three small islands, Baroda Deuga, about half a mile north-east of Wausuu Point (Fig. 9). These islands are today only a few feet above high tide and are composed entirely of coarse

177 fraternised with them. In fact, the friendly atmosphere created by
829 both the American and Australian troops during the war gave the Orokaiva
769 a different view of Europeans than they had before and must have greatly assisted the acceptance of the economic development ideology and local government council movement in the 1950's and 1960's. A
[415] great proportion of the cooking pots, adzes and other steel tools found in the villages today were gifts from the Americans.

769 In all the villages I visited, people listened to the news
829 broadcasts in Motu and Pidgin English; hence they heard about the Vietnam war and we discussed it a few times. The reaction was strange:
[209] it was a great pity that those American boys were being killed in
[191] Vietnam, because they were wonderful people. There was distinct disappointment that the Americans had decided to go to Vietnam instead of returning to Papua-New Guinea. Some jealousy was felt towards the Vietnamese who had now been thus favoured. I tried to assuage the disappointment felt by my informants by summarising some facts from the Manchester Guardian Weekly, my only source of knowledge at the time, but I could see that the convictions of the Orokaiva on this point were unshakable; they knew some things about the Americans which I was (or pretended to be) ignorant of.

Section 10: Self-Group Image

829 The self-group image of the Orokaiva has undergone a profound
[198] change since the war. The question that we need to investigate here is the extent to which the eruption experience affected this long-term change. The most useful procedure will therefore be, as in Section 8,
121 to set out first the present self-group image and its general development
128 over the last few decades; secondly, to place the data we have on the period immediately following the disaster in the framework of this general development.

829 Like other peoples I have personally studied (the New Zealand Maori and the Canadian Indian), the Orokaiva have been the recipients of a barrage of propaganda on the part of missionaries and government officials, who were critical of Orokaiva material standards, social customs and religious beliefs. They also supplied severe sanctions against those who did not change their material standards and customs while considerable inducements were held out to those who would. The Maori and the Blood Indians, while complying on the whole with the demands of the whites, at the same time retained a strong belief in the greatness and, often also, the superiority of their old customs. I was therefore surprised that the Orokaiva had nothing good to say about their own past, representing it as a nightmare from which they were glad to have escaped, while the teachings of the Europeans as well as their goods, provided an opportunity--the only known opportunity--for vast improvement.

affairs, but gives all his declining energies to his garden, keeping as close as possible to the productive level of his better years. He drews closer and closer to his garden where his spirit will dwell after death. Apart from the garden, he becomes remote from most things; his days of household duties, hunting, fishing, building are over. He will, however, make dancing ornaments and weapons and headdresses which again lie close to the spirit realm. (I have quoted Waddell's statistical evidence for these tendencies in Table 18.)[A]

How did culture change influence the division of labour between the sexes? For the traditional productive activities, there has probably been hardly any change. I have quoted a table of exclusively masculine and feminine activities collected by Williams in 1923, and hitherto unpublished (Table 19).[B] Certain tasks of importance were omitted from this list, which may explain why Williams did not publish it. Sago making was probably always a male activity; so was the use of the digging stick preparatory to planting taro and yam. The harvesting of taro was probably always a specifically feminine task; there is clearly a taboo on men against harvesting taro. Even bachelors never do it but must leave it to his mother, his sister or his brother's wife. If men did it, I was told, they would not "know how" and they would never manage to eke out the crop until the next harvest. This did not apply to the harvesting of other crops. When Williams classified "planting" as a feminine task, he was probably thinking of the actual placing of the cuttings in the ground, though I have seen men as well as women do this.

In the Orokaiva view both man and woman are repositories of capacities and resources specific to themselves; the relationship between man and woman is the giving of exchange (wine ari) of the contributions of each. Man views woman as an equal exchange partner and this equality is real even though the care over legal and political matters is a distinctively masculine contribution. In the new activities introduced since European contact the same balance is preserved. Some new duties (e.g., the washing of clothes) were added to the specifically feminine preserve, church work and the purchasing of goods became a predominantly masculine preserve (as is attested by Waddell's statistics). The harvesting of rubber, taught exclusively to men on the plantations, became an exclusively male activity. On the other hand, the bulk of cash producing activities (working for pay, maintaining, harvesting and processing of coffee) were shared.

One interesting observation made by Waddell and confirmed by me is that most marketing of subsistence crops is done by the women whereas marketing of coffee is done by the men. The handling of harvested crops is normally a woman's prerogative. These are normally carried in large string bags which only married women can own and hang over their heads. While the casual European observer supposes that the women carrying these large bags are reduced to the status of beasts of burden, these bags signify the women's exlusive power over the crop; the fuller they are, the prouder the women are of them. Thus, only

A,B [See Cat. 116, pp. 225, 226, respectively--Analyst]

government driver) had gone there and continued at Martyr's school at Sangara. He survived because the mountain erupted during the school holidays. At Sivepe, some children had started going to the Jesembata school, opened in 1945, but attendance was irregular. Nonetheless, there were few people under 30 in 1966, who had not had some schooling.

Goods such as meat, sugar, tobacco were known in Sivepe at the time of the eruption, and bought in trade stores; some people used European pots and others used clay pots. By 1966, all regular production of clay pots in Sivepe had ended; they were not even included ceremonially in bridewealth. It was always the young men, away on labouring jobs, who introduced the innovations in material culture, who brought their mothers and new wives European pots, who came home flaunting European clothes, who first used nails in building their houses. In Inonda, at the time of the eruption, the young men were already wearing "trousers"; in Sivepe, this came later, at the time of the local government council. In both villages, this same association was stressed: the European cloths were accepted for village wear at the time the council started and the example was set not only by the bachelors returning from town but also by the councillors themselves. There was a councillor resident in both villages in the years immediately following 1956; it was their influence that tipped the balance in dress innovation.

At the time of the eruption, cash cropping had not yet started at all in Sivepe, but at Inonda, one man (the father of the present government driver) was already selling coffee for which he was paid $3 per bag by the government. The government also bought copra from him which he prepared by breaking up coconuts and drying them in a fire. He stopped this trade at the time of the eruption but resumed in 1954. In Sivepe, coffee growing started in 1956 on two "company" plots. It was in other words a community activity rather than a case of individual entrepreneurship. Rimoldi (1966: 84) reports that individual coffee gardens started in 1957 only after patrol officers advised against having jointly operated ones.

It is not easy to say just how much linguistic knowledge had been absorbed before the eruption, or even now. If one asks a man what languages he knows, he lists all those he has had contact with on his travels; always Motu, not infrequently Pidgin, and also often an assortment of New Guinea languages marking the spots where he has worked. Wherever a man works, he learns some of the language, but his knowledge rarely passes exacting tests. Orokaiva men who said they knew Aiga could not actually translate the Aiga texts I taped into Orokaiva. It would be most interesting to do research on the actual knowledge of these Papuan polyglots. In a country where so many languages are spoken, communication between persons with different vernacular is a crucial process. There is no doubt that travelling Orokaiva make a great effort to adapt themselves to the regions they visit. If they have personal contact with their employers, they learn a great deal from them too. From the data I have presented it is plain that travel has been the major acculturative influence among the Orokaiva.